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boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connotations: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simulates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep

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his face, combs his hair, and nowadays also dons his gayest laplap, and either walks past the girl's house or down a path where he is likely to meet her. He also plays an active part by resorting to love magic. He tries to put scrapings from a fingernail of his left hand or blood from the left side[13] of his penis into the lime gourd or cigarette of a woman whom he desires. If she ingests these magical substances, it is believed that she will have an uncontrollable sexual desire for the man who gave them to her.

In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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eral, and not specifically at her genitalia, may lead to suspicion, if it is more than a quick identifying glance. A boy must restrain his eyes even when the girl's relatives are not present, for she may report his breach of etiquette with similar results. For these reasons we had considerable difficulty taking photographs of females. As the Kwoma women phrased it, a photograph "caught" their genitals and made it possible for them to be looked at without the possibility of social control. After we had taken several pictures of women in ignorance of the prevailing sentiments, we were told by both the women and by their relatives to take no more.

To avoid the sanctions against looking, a boy either keeps his eyes fixed on the ground or sits or stands with his back to a woman whenever he is in her presence. If he happens to be sitting facing a path down which a woman is walking, he must arise and stand with his back to it until she has passed. He may not speak to her until she has passed him; when they are both back to back he may speak to, but must not look at, her. Whenever he meets adult females on a path, they turn aside and stand with their backs to the path until he has passed. He must keep his eyes on the ground and must not stop and talk to them until they are behind him. If a boy goes visiting, he must be very careful in his behavior. He may only quickly glance under the porch to note who is there and must then keep his eyes on the ground until he has found a seat facing away from the women, when he may gossip with them over his shoulder.

An adolescent boy must obey these rules with respect to all adolescent and adult females except those who live in his own household, with whom he need not be so elaborately careful. His behavior toward them does not differ appreciably from that which he learned during childhood; he may not stare at their genitals, but he is not restricted from looking at them in general. When no one else is around and when a girl has made sexual advances toward a boy, he may look at her. In fact, this is defined as part of the preliminaries to sexual behavior. Just as boys avoid the sanctions against sexual intercourse by having affairs in secret, so they develop techniques

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [964] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [838] [839] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in in- • 834 tensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy. 834 885 888

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor. 587

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives. 768 583 [602]

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none. 595

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work, 591 342 476 [885]

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him. 000

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Mneki, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[334] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Kar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kowas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunga kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)